1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Cherokee NM8

guages, is of opinion that they were not called *Talligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Alligéwi Sipu*, the River of the Alligewi. We have adopted, I know not for what reason, its Iroquois name, Ohio, which the French had literally translated into *La Belle Riviere*, The Beautiful River.* A branch of it, however, still retains the ancient name Allegheny.

Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. It is related that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by them, two of which, in particular, were remarkable. One of them was near the mouth of the river Huron, which empties itself into the Lake St. Clair, on the north side of that Lake, at the distance of about 20 miles N. E. of Detroit. This spot of ground was, in the year 1786, owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other works, properly entrenchments, being walls or banks of earth regularly thrown up, with a deep ditch on the outside, were on the Huron river, east of the Sandusky, about six or eight miles from Lake Erie. Outside of the gateways of each of these two entrenchments, which lay within a mile of each other, were a number of large flat mounds, in which, the Indian pilot said, were buried hundreds of the slain Talligewi, whom I shall hereafter with Col. Gibson call *Alligewi*. Of these entrenchments, Mr. Abraham Steiner, who was with me at the time when I saw them, gave a very accurate description, which was

* Loskiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren, Part I. Chap. 1.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Cherokee NM8
Iroquois NM9

C D I 173 No quarters were given, so that the Alligewi, at last, finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned. The war which was carried on with this nation, lasted many years, during which the Lenape lost a great number of their warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end, the conquerors divided the country between themselves; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great Lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country to the south. For a long D 173 period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very fast; some of their most enterprising huntsmen and warriors, crossed the great swamps,* and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them down to the great Bay River,† thence into the Bay itself, which we call Chesapeak. As they pursued their travels, partly by land, and partly by water, sometimes near and at other times on the great Saltwater Lake, as they call the Sea, they discovered the great River, which we call the D Delaware; and thence exploring still eastward, the *Scheyichbi* country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at [103] another great stream, that which we call the Hudson or North River. Satisfied with what they had seen, they, (or some of them) after a long absence, returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made; they described the country they had discovered, as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits; and the rivers and bays, with fish, tortoises, &c. together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the event as a fortunate one for them, and

* The *Glades*, that is to say that they crossed the mountains.

† Meaning the river Susquehannah, which they call "the great Bay River," from where the west branch falls into the main stream.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

173 beyond the Potomack. Many families with their con-
131 nexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered
101 not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended
● [103] their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

173 From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"ed that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest
"of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased
"them; that land they also wanted, and because we
"were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already
"more than they had need of, they took it from us by
"force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient
"homes."

"By and by the *Dutchemaan** arrived at *Manahach-*
"*tánienk*,"† (here they relate with all its details what has been said in the preceding chapter.) "The great man "wanted only a little, little land, on which to raise "greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's "hide would cover. Here we first might have observed "their deceitful spirit. The bullock's hide was cut "up into little strips, and did not cover, indeed, but en-"circled a very large piece of land, which we foolishly "granted to them. They were to raise *greens* on it, in-"stead of which they planted *great guns*; afterwards they "built strong houses, made themselves masters of the "Island, then went up the river to our enemies, the "Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by "their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last "drove us entirely out of the country." Here, of course, is related at full length, the story which we have told in the first chapter. Then the Delawares proceed.

"When the *Fengeese*‡ arrived at *Machtitschwanne*,§ "they looked about every where for good spots of land, "and when they found one, they immediately and with-"out ceremony possessed themselves of it; we were as-

* The Hollanders.

† Manhattan, or New York Island.

‡ An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the nickname *Yankees*.

§ This word means "a cluster of Islands with channels every way, "so that it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft." The Indians think that the white people have corrupted this word into *Massachusetts*. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it 173
"worth while to contend for a little land. But when at 648
"last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay
"most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en-
"sued: we would have been contented that the white
"people and we should have lived quietly beside each
"other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us,
"that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not
"resist them. The wars that we carried on against
"each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged
"when we saw the white people put our friends and
"relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of
"their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown
"or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they
"came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them
"have ever returned or even been heard of. At last
"they got possession of the whole of the country which
"the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was
"forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed
"in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they
"could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to
"the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de-
"lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis-
"turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although
"they had been most kindly and hospitably received.
"On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white [103]
"people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our
"ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even
"hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of
"the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,†
"who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when placed at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it signifies a *tree*. [192]

† The Swedes and Dutch

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"great and good MIQUON,* came and brought us words
"of peace and good will. We believed his words, and
"his memory is still held in veneration among us. But
"it was not long before our joy was turned into sor-
"row: our brother Miquon died, and those of his good
"counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what
"had passed between him and our ancestors, were no
"longer listened to; the strangers† who had taken their
"places, no longer spoke to us of sitting down by the
"side of each other as brothers of one family, they for-
"got that friendship which their great man had esta-
"blished with us, and was to last to the end of time;
"they now only strove to get all our land from us by
"fraud or by force, and when we attempted to remind them
"of what our good brother had said, they became angry,
"and sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet
[103] "them at a great concil which they were to hold with us
"at *Læhauwake*,‡ where they should take us by the hair
"of our heads, and shake us well. The Mengwe came,
"the council was held, and in the presence of the white
"men, who did not contradict them, they told us that we
"were women, and that they had made us such; that we
"had no right to any land, because it was all theirs; that
"we must be gone; and that as a great favour they permit-
"ted us to go and settle further into the country, at the
"place which they themselves pointed out at Wyoming."§

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings. After having gone through these painful details, they seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections upon the men of Europe. "We and our kindred tribes," say they, "lived in peace and harmony with each other,

* William Penn.

† Land traders and speculators.

‡ Easton.

§ This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and November, 1756.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

[103]

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now [103] stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kúequenáku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees*.

103 They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or musquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give
648 names derived from some remarkable quality which they
551 have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*, (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

in which numbers of them were actually starved to death. The case I allude to was so singular a circumstance, that it seems the cruel act to which it gave rise was almost unavoidable. I shall relate it here as I have received it from the most unquestionable authority.

In the winter of 1739—40, ever since remembered as the hard winter, when the ground was covered with a very deep snow, a woman with three children, was coming from beyond the Allegheny mountains on a visit to her friends or relations residing at the great island on the west branch of the Susquehannah. After she had reached that river somewhere about *Achtschingi Clammui*, which the whites have corrupted into *Chingleclamoose*, the snow fell in earlier than had been before known, to such a depth, that she could not proceed any farther. She began with putting herself and her children on short allowance, in hopes that the weather might become more moderate, or the snow so hard that they could walk over it. She strove to make her little store of provisions last as long as she could, by using the grass which grew on the river's edge, and certain barks as substitutes, which she boiled to make them digestible; but more snow falling, until at last it rose to the height of a fathom or six feet, she was deprived even of that wretched food, and the wolves hovering about day and night, often attempting to rush into her little encampment, her whole time was taken up with procuring wood and making fires to prevent herself and her children from being frozen to death, and keeping those voracious animals at a distance by throwing out fire-brands to them. Her situation, at last, became intolerable. Having no alternative but that of sacrificing one of her children, she resolved on destroying the youngest, in order to preserve the others and herself from the most dreadful death. After much hesitation, she turned away her eyes and with a trembling hand gave the fatal stroke, filling at the same time the air with her loud lamentations.—She now thought she had obtain-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

261
266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

[481]

[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohátink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

156
184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *Goschachking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

792 668 "among us; you are to return to that former happy "state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before "these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you "must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which "they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing "their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will "the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will "give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them "from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly "regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only [435] "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Wangomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. [103] Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

9 [Leeadum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Anal/ysl]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them: They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in